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The

Masters of Raffaello

(Raphael Sanzio),

BY

MARCO MINGHETTI,

Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, etc.

TRANSLATED

BY

LOUIS FAGAN,

Author of the Life of SIR A. PANIZZI, K.C.B., etc.

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To

John Rutson,

whose patronage of the Fine Arts

is valued

as much as are his social qualities,

this Translation is

Dedicated by his old friend

LOUIS FAGAN.

September 1st, 1882.

The Masters of Raffaello.

CHAPTER I.

IN Giorgio Vasari's Life of Raffaello occur these words:—"Giovanni began to instruct him in the first principles of painting, perceiving that he was much inclined to that art, and finding him to be endowed with a most admirable genius; few years had passed, therefore, before Raffaello, though still a child, became a valuable assistant to his father in the numerous works which the latter executed in the State of Urbino. At length this good and affectionate parent, knowing that his son would acquire but little of his art from himself, resolved to place him with Pietro Perugino, who, according to what Giovanni had been told, was then considered to hold the first place among the painters of the time . . . . and, having taken the boy, though not without many tears from his mother, who loved him tenderly, he conducted him to Perugia; when Pietro no sooner beheld his manner of drawing

drawing, and observed the pleasing deportment of the youth, than he conceived that opinion of him which was in due time so amply confirmed by the results produced in the after life of Raffaello."

Describing how Raffaello painted sundry panels after the style of Perugino he thus continues :—"Pietro repaired for certain of his occasions to Florence, when Raffaello departed from Perugia and proceeded with several of his friends to Città di Castello, where he painted several pictures . . . . While Raffaello was thus acquiring the greatest fame by the pursuit of this manner, the painting of the Library belonging to the Cathedral of Siena had been entrusted by Pope Pius II to Bernardino Pinturicchio, who was a friend of Raffaello, and, knowing him to be an excellent designer, took the latter with him to Siena. Here Raffaello made Pinturicchio certain of the designs and cartoons for that work : nor would the young artist have failed to continue there, but for the reports which had reached him concerning Leonardo da Vinci, of whose merits he heard many painters of Siena speak in terms of the highest praise. They more especially celebrated the cartoon which Leonardo had prepared in the Sala del Papa at Florence for a most beautiful group of horses which was to be executed for the Great Hall of the Palace. They likewise mentioned another cartoon representing nude figures, and made by Michel Angelo Buonarroti, in competition with Leonardo, whom he had on that occasion greatly surpassed. These discourses awakened in Raffaello

Raffaello so ardent a desire to behold the works thus commended, that, moved by the love he ever bore to excellence in art, and setting aside all thought of his own interest or inconvenience, he at once proceeded to Florence." These notes form the foundation upon which subsequent writers have, without due investigation, based their statements concerning Raffaello; modern critics have, however, deemed it their duty to examine their truth more narrowly. After reviewing with greater care the private sources of information, and bringing to light documents before unknown—and, what is especially important, adopting a more subtle and accurate method of observation than had been hitherto employed, assiduously comparing dates and facts in order to arrive at the distinctive characteristics of each artist, and so to determine their individual works and their peculiar merits—modern criticism has been forced to the conclusion that the above quotations contain many and grave inaccuracies.

There is, however, nothing surprising in this; for, whereas Vasari's *Lives* are regarded and will continue to be regarded as the best and most complete examples of artistic history, great judgment and discernment must nevertheless be exercised in the perusal of his works, since it is well-known that, engaged as he was in so many varied pursuits, it was well nigh impossible for him to examine into everything himself, and that for many of the incidents he records he had to depend upon friends. The information thus obtained he has

has repeated, doubtless in good faith; but it must be confessed that dates and facts are often indiscriminately mixed: so that, not only with respect to Raffaello, but in many other points as well, he has fallen into serious errors, which are now being gradually rectified. But, confining ourselves to the narrative cited above, attention may be drawn to certain dates, established beyond doubt from indisputable sources and from recognized documents; for instance, that Raffaello was born on the 28th of March, 1483; that his father, Giovanni Santi, died on the 1st of August, 1494; that the commission given by Cardinal Piccolomini, for the Library of Siena, is dated the 29th of June, 1502; and finally it may be asserted almost positively that the exhibition of the cartoons by Leonardo and Michel Angelo could scarcely have taken place earlier than 1505.

Accordingly, Vasari's account, already referred to, comprises the portion of Raffaello's life from his birth to his twenty-second year. And as the discussion of the painter's life in its entirety would be too onerous a task, I shall confine myself to the portion of his life alluded to in the above quotations: that is, down to the year 1505, when he attained the age of 22, and, abandoning the footprints of his predecessors, stood forth as a great and original artist. And as on a former occasion, when treating of Raffaello's pupils, I was enabled to rectify certain errors, and to add certain new facts and incidents hitherto ignored, so now I hope to do the same in treating of Raffaello's masters.

In

In the first place, as I am anxious to impress them upon my reader's mind, let me state once again, certain observations which I made when speaking of the history of painting, to the effect that "in all those provinces where by the nature of the locality, by the condition of the inhabitants, and by the circumstances of the times, painting was destined to flourish, it followed a similar course. So that the schools of the different provinces may fairly be compared with one another, both in their origin and their vicissitudes; while in like manner there is a manifest resemblance and analogy between those painters who—to use a modern expression—represent the same moment of evolution in art."

It would be interesting to ascertain what sections of the Italian people, and what individuals, evinced, amidst the numerous convulsions of our peninsula, in former days, the greatest aptitude for the fine arts. By this means a most curious, novel, topographical and ethnological map of art in Italy might be obtained. On some other occasion I may, perhaps, resume this subject. At present I shall content myself with observing that in that portion of the Apennines which lies between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, extending from the Rubicon to the Tronto, and from the Ombrone to the right bank of the Tiber, sprang, at the revival of letters, the Umbrian school, which, like the other Italian schools, passed through four periods prior to the time of Raffaello. The first period is that of Giotto, during which art, born in the

the sanctuary, appears only anxious to narrate sacred stories by means of the brush, and to create artistic subjects—truthfulness to nature and perfection of form being but matters of secondary consideration. Then comes the period when the artist feels the necessity of copying the true, and of giving to his picture the touch, as it were, of a genuine portrait; which gave rise to the grand study of perspective, anatomy and of foreshortening, which up to this time had been entirely neglected. By this means mere accessories—calculated only to distract the mind—are seen in their proper light, as in themselves perfectly useless; while by adhering strictly to nature the artist becomes able to select, with judicious care, those only which possess such characteristic features as give distinctness and prominence to the subject. What he aims at is the effect upon the spectator—to make the same impression upon his mind as the actual sight of the figure or scene represented would produce. Finally comes the period when the affections and passions claim the best efforts of the artist; and as religious feeling was still strong at that time, this sentiment in particular prominently reveals itself. These four periods of art are now termed pre-Raffaelite, and are to be traced, more or less, in every school—provided that we study them in a spirit free from pedantry, and neither apply the same rigid restrictions to every period, nor confine ourselves to particular artists, but admit that different stages of progress may have existed contemporaneously in different localities,

and

and endeavour to discover in the development of sculpture the link that is missing in painting. The attentive observer, however, will have no difficulty in discovering them in the Umbrian school. It abounded in artists of the Giotto period, such as Ottaviano Nelli da Gubbio, Allegretto Nuzi da Fabriano, and the brothers da Sanseverino. These, although not equal to the realists of Florence and Padua, form, nevertheless, the link that unites the Giottesque painters with those who, like Gentile da Fabriano, Piero della Francesca, and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, brought art to so high a degree of perfection. Finally, in the cases of Perugino and Pinturicchio, the Umbrian school affords us examples of that period the especial aim of which was to give expression to the affections, and which, elsewhere, was represented by Francia, Lorenzo Costa, Ambrogio Borgognone, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and others.

Giovanni Santi, Raffaello's father, although not distinguished for any very remarkable qualities, rises, nevertheless, above mediocrity, as is shown by the ten or twelve panels by him still extant, only one of which is to be met with out of Italy, namely, in the Berlin Museum. He was a sincere lover of his art, if we are to believe a poem or chronicle written in rhyme at Urbino, where his praises are sung in common with those of other painters of the day. We know for certain that Paolo Uccello had gone to Urbino in 1468, and that Piero della Francesca was there during the following year, residing with Santi: it is also known

known that, if not a pupil, he was at all events a great friend of Melozzo da Forlì, who lived for a considerable time in Urbino, and that he was on intimate terms with his fellow-countryman, Bramante, and was greatly esteemed by him. Giovanni died on the 1st of August, 1494, a date which is confirmed by a letter from Elizabeth, Duchess of Urbino, dated the 19th of August of the same year, in which it is stated that his death had occurred about twenty days before. In another letter of the same lady, dated August 14th, we find positive proof that Santi had shortly before visited Mantua for the purpose of painting the portrait of a Monsignore (probably Bishop Gonzaga) but that after his return, circumstances had prevented his completing it, and had indeed rendered it impossible for him to attend to the portrait of Elizabeth herself. The journey to Mantua must have been a source of great gratification to the good Santi, proving the high estimation in which he was held, and affording him the opportunity of conversing with Andrea Mantegna, his admiration for whom was very great, much greater, indeed, than for any other of his contemporaries, as may be inferred from the poem above alluded to in which he says:

"Queste cose abbiam detto con sincero
Animo alla pictura e per laudare
Messer Andrea che in ciò tien l'impero.
Che fece, 'l Duca d'Urbino in se restare
Istupefacto, allor quando el vedea
La sua pictura et arte singolare."

There is no possible doubt that Vasari is correct

correct in stating that Giovanni Santi was his son's first instructor. In those days at painting, as the other arts, men worked in families, the boys entering their father's workshop at the early age of seven, performing at first the most humble offices—cleaning the rooms, sorting and grinding the colours, sizing, stretching, stuccoing, and doing other similar work. It is not to be supposed that Raffaello was behindhand in showing his natural inclination and aptitude for art; but considering that his father, just before his death, had been for some time stopping in Mantua, and that when he died his son was barely eleven years of age, it is difficult to accept as a fact the statement that he "became a valuable assistant to his father in the numerous works which the latter executed in the State of Urbino." At the time of Santi's death Raffaello was too young to paint; nor is the idea of such precociousness supported by any extant drawing of his, or by any record of his very early capabilities. While that, Giovanni Santi, prior to his departure for Mantua, took Raffaello to Perugia, and placed him under Pietro Vannucci, as Vasari says, is more than improbable, inasmuch as Raffaello, being only ten years old at the time, was too young to be taken from home for such a purpose. Other circumstances also in connection with this statement bear on their face the stamp of impossibility; as for instance, the tears shed by his mother at parting, for we know that she had died three years previously. To these arguments must be added the fact that from 1493 to 1499 Pietro

Pietro Perugino was wandering in different parts of Italy, and if, during that period, he visited Perugia, he certainly did not remain there long enough to establish a school.

Pietro Vannucci, according to Vasari, though not perhaps the greatest, was, at any rate, the most popular painter of the time. Born in 1466, Vasari assigns to him as his master, Andrea del Verrocchio, a Florentine; but he had probably studied under Benedetto Bonfigli, Nicolò Alunno, and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, all of whom were Umbrians. In 1475 he had painted several pictures in the Palace at Perugia, and, in 1478, the beautiful fresco of Cerqueto. In 1480 he was sent for to Rome, where—as we shall see later on—Pinturicchio had already been residing for twelve months, and there painted several subjects in the Sistine Chapel; but the only example of his work that remains to us is the "Christ handing the Keys to St. Peter." The "Baptism of Christ" is also assigned to him by Vasari, but more accurate critics have shown us that this picture, as well as "Moses journeying in the Desert," is from the hand of Pinturicchio. The other paintings were effaced to make room for Michel Angelo's "Last Judgment."

When Pietro Vannucci quitted Rome, he again returned to Perugia, where, in 1489 and 1490, he was engaged in painting in the new Chapel. During the next ten years, however, he led a wandering life. In 1493 we find him in Florence, in the following year in Venice, afterwards in Cremona, where he exercised his art for the monks

monks of St. Augustine. In 1495 he was again for some time in Perugia, and painted for the Cassinian monks that "Ascension of Christ" which is now to be seen in the Lyons Museum. In 1496 we find him once more settled in Florence, where he even purchased some land for a house, and is noted in the register as an inhabitant of the quarter of San Piero Maggiore. There is no doubt that during the same year he again visited Venice, as is shown by a letter from Lodovico Sforza in which he endeavours to induce him to leave that city and come to Milan in his service. In 1497 we find him first in Florence, taking his place amongst the commissioners charged with the valuation of the frescoes by Alessio Baldovinetti. Afterwards he probably went to Fano to paint the panel in the Church of Santa Maria Nuova. Certainly he was in that town on the 21st of April, 1498, when he acted as witness to a contract. In this same year we find him once again in Florence, whither he was called to consult with other artists as to the restoration of the lantern of the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. Finally, in 1499, he undertook to paint the "Sala del Cambio" of Perugia, but did not complete this work until the year 1500, having returned to his native city in the interim. In 1501 he was staying with the *Magistrato dei Priori*. In 1502 he agreed to paint a panel for the Church of San Francesco al Monte, and another for the Church of Saint Augustine, for which he also designed the choir. It is further asserted that in 1503 he was called on to paint the arms of Julius II

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on the walls of the palace and the city gates. Be this so or not, it is certain that in this same year, 1503, he was in Florence. From these scattered notices it appears that between 1490 and 1499, Pietro Vannucci led an unsettled life, visiting various parts of Italy, and remaining but little in his own native town, whereas during the three following years he was in Perugia,—the only absence which can be proved being the occasion on which he went to Vallombrosa to paint the "Assumption," which is now to be seen in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, and bears the date 1500. It is probable that he had here the opportunity of painting the two portraits still preserved in the Monastery, one, the venerable Don Biagio Milanese, General of the Order; the other, a certain Don Baldassare, Abbot of the Monastery;—both exquisitely beautiful portraits, and attributed, at a later date, to Raffaello.

At the end of the century he attained his 55th year, and was then at the height of his glory. To this period belong the paintings above referred to, (the wonderful Crucifixion, executed for the Compagnia della Calza in Florence, is of earlier date, and probably the first of his master-pieces) besides the picture which he painted for the Church of Saint Augustine of Cremona, in 1494, of a Madonna with Saints, and that for the Certosa of Pavia, which, however, is incomplete, the triptych which represents the Virgin worshipping the Infant Jesus, and the two Archangels, Michael and Raphael, being in the National Gallery in London, the

the upper portion, representing the Almighty, still remaining in its place, and the two wings, depicting scenes from the Annunciation, being lost; the Descent from the Cross, dated 1495, in the Pitti Gallery, and the Christ on the Cross in the Cloisters of Santa Maria Maddalena de'Pazzi, 1496-97, and lastly, the Sala del Cambio, completed, as previously stated, in 1500. After this, Pietro's genius began to decline, one reason, according to Vasari, being that he was in the habit of constantly repeating himself—the effect of overwork—and of making his figures very like one another; the second being that his rendering of the affections and passions became, as time went on, purely conventional.

But to return to our argument. Not only is it improbable that Giovanni Santi placed his son with Pietro Perugino at the early age of ten years, but the improbability becomes an impossibility when we remember that he was scarcely ever at home, in which case Raffaello would have been left to himself, without a director for the greater part of the time. Moreover other facts confirm this view of the case, one of which is that Raffaello was in Urbino on the 3rd of June, 1499.

It is beyond doubt that Raffaello was a pupil of Perugino. But if the latter only settled in Perugia in 1499, when his artistic fame was at its highest, and as we know that Raffaello left Urbino between June of the same year and the May following, the suggestion naturally presents itself that Raffaello, now having attained his 16th year, and having heard of Pietro's arrival in Perugia

Perugia, journeyed thither towards the end of 1499 or the beginning of 1500, and joined him as pupil and assistant, remaining until the master returned to Florence, that is to say till about the year 1503. Later on we shall notice how great was the influence which Perugino exercised over his pupil. But for the present other matters claim our consideration.

CHAPTER II.

IF Raffaello remained in Urbino from August, 1494—the date of Giovanni Santi's death—to the end of 1499, the question naturally arises, under whose superintendence was he for these five years, and under whom did he study painting? The letter quoted above, in which Elizabeth Gonzaga informs her brother, the Marquis of Mantua, of the death of Giovanni Santi, before he had completed the portrait of Monsignore, contains a postscript to the following effect: "I have caused diligent search to be made for the attendant *(garzone)* of the said Giovanni: I am told that none can be found." Who was this attendant? Probably a certain Evangelista da Pian di Mileto, a pupil of his, who witnessed Santi's last will, made on the 27th July, 1494. But, even supposing Raffaello to have been retained in the studio for any time by this man, it is very improbable that he advanced much in the knowledge of his art through the instruction of an obscure lad. Nor can it be believed that Luca Signorelli was his master, for he had left Urbino some months before the decease of Giovanni Santi. I may here conveniently refer to what I have said elsewhere concerning Raffaello's pupils. Amongst the number I mentioned Timoteo Viti, a native of Urbino

Urbino, respecting whom I could prove that, so far from being his pupil, he was as a matter of fact Raffaello's master. Born in 1469—and therefore 15 years his senior—Timoteo, at the age of 20, visited Bologna at the invitation of one of his brothers, Pier Antonio, a doctor and poet by profession, who was studying there. Having an inclination for the fine arts he entered the studio of Francesco Francia, 8th July, 1490, and, as Francesco's diary shews, remained with him for five years. In this diary, under the date April 5th, 1495, we read: "My dear Timoteo has left. God grant him every blessing and prosperity." Accordingly at the age of 26, Timoteo returned to Urbino, his native city, fresh from the famous school of Bologna, where he had already made his mark as an artist, arriving a few months after the death of Giovanni Santi, when Raffaello had scarcely attained his twelfth year.

The youth had lost his mother three years previously, and was left to the care of his paternal uncle, Don Bartolommeo. We have no information as to how he and his guardian agreed; but we do know that he and his adopted mother differed very considerably. On the other hand he entertained a sincere affection for his maternal uncle, Simone Ciarla, whom we find him addressing, in after years, as *carissimo in loco di padre.* Do not the above facts justify us in supposing that, in a town of such small dimensions as Urbino, containing few artists, (for Melozzo da Forlì had died during the preceding year, and Luca Signorelli and Bramante

Bramante had left,) Timoteo arriving with all his fame would have earnestly desired to receive the youth and direct his steps in the paths of art? It is not only possible but probable, and this opinion is confirmed by the tender friendship which existed between the two painters, a friendship which was only terminated by death. This also may account for the extraordinary inversion of ideas which represented Timoteo as the pupil of Raffaello.

This does not exhaust our evidence on the subject. Strong confirmation of our statements can be gained by carefully comparing the pictures of Timoteo Viti, from the year 1495, when he returned to Urbino, to the year 1500, with the extant productions of Raffaello's youthful days. The most important works of Viti during that period are the following :—

1st. A canvas in distemper, painted for Martino Spaccioli, of Urbino, with whom he became connected by his marriage in 1501 with Girolama. The subject of this canvas is the Virgin and Child on a throne, at the foot an angel, seated and playing, at the sides the Saints Crescenzio and Vitale.

2nd. The picture of Saint Apollonia, over the principal altar of the little Church of the Trinity in Urbino.

3rd. A Saint Marguerite, bearing in one hand the palm of martyrdom, and in the other the chain that serves to secure the dragon. This painting is in a private gallery at Milan.

4th. A black chalk drawing in the gallery at Oxford

Oxford, representing the head of a woman holding a palm branch in her hand.

The first-named of these was regarded as one of Raffaello's very early works, until recent discoveries restored it to its proper author—Timoteo Viti. An attentive observer will see that the angel who is playing looks like one of Lorenzo Costa's angels, while Saint Crescenzio is treated in a manner worthy of Francia; but that San Vitale recalls forcibly the figures of Raffaello. The drawing at Oxford was likewise attributed to Raffaello, but in this instance also the error has been rectified and the picture assigned to the true artist—Timoteo. No doubt could have existed as to Saint Apollonia, its authorship being known from the first, though every writer acknowledges its Raffaellesque style; and the same is the case with the Saint Marguerite of which we have spoken.

It is not, then, at all likely that a young man between 30 and 35 years of age, trained in the schools of Costa and Francia, even at that time famous, should set about imitating the style of a lad of 12 or 14. Nor can this youth be supposed to have had any settled style worthy of imitation, especially as he was himself destined hereafter to be a faithful follower of Perugino. The most reasonable supposition is that Timoteo was *Raffaellesque* by his own natural inspiration, and that Raffaello copied from him the style we are accustomed to admire in his earlier works.

Having thus endeavoured to prove that Timoteo could never have been Raffaello's pupil, the

the acknowledged similarity in certain works of the artists points positively to the fact that Timoteo was Raffaello's master, probably from his twelfth to his sixteenth year, when he went to Perugia.

Do we profess to have paintings and drawings by Raffaello belonging to the period of which we have spoken, viz., between 1495 and 1500? Some are doubtful, but the following five are most certainly his :—

1st. A drawing of two young archers (Saettatori) in the Wicar collection at Lille, where the shape of the ear, the hands, and the hair are entirely Timotesque.

2nd and 3rd. The Knight's Dream, a sketch and a painting from it, both in the National Gallery, London. A knight, armed cap-à-pie, sleeps at the foot of a tree, his arm and head resting on his shield. By his side stand two women: the sterner offers him a book and a sword, as if inviting him to the works of peace as well as of war; the gayer, but no less modest woman, attempts to adorn him with a flower, as if to allure him to pleasure. It would appear to represent, in another form, the fable of the choice of Hercules. The landscape and distant buildings in this little picture manifestly have the characteristics of Timoteo's style, the folds in the sleeve of the woman with the flower, and the band around her head are indeed identical with those of the Saint Marguerite already described; whilst the hand of the sleeping Knight, and the shape of the head

of

of the woman who holds the sword, alike remind us of Timoteo's treatment.

4th. A drawing in black chalk, touched in with white, in the Oxford collection, represents a boy of 13 or 14, not unlike Raffaello himself. Here some uncertainty exists as to whether this is Raffaello's own production or the work of Timoteo, who may have sketched one of his pupils. On comparing it with those studies of the female head to which we have just alluded, we cannot help being in some doubt; nevertheless it is generally ascribed to Raffaello.

5th. A drawing or study, also at Oxford, for the tomb of Christ, representing a sentinel waking from his slumbers, and a kneeling angel. It is an exquisite performance, but strongly impressed with the style of Timoteo Viti, especially with respect to the soldier's hand.

Such are the fragments that still remain as specimens of Raffaello's early career. Later on we shall see the dragon in the Saint Marguerite of Timoteo reappear in the Saint George and the Dragon of Raffaello. We shall see the head of one of his angels in the Incarnation, and other signs of a renewed imitation of Timoteo. All that I have stated seems to bear out my hypothesis, that Raffaello acquired the rudiments of his art from his father, Giovanni Santi, up to his eleventh year; that he remained in Urbino five years after his father's death; that, during that time, Timoteo Viti, for whom he ever afterwards entertained an affectionate regard, was, in all probability, his master

master; and that, towards the end of 1499 or the beginning of 1500, he went to Perugia and placed himself under Pietro Vannucci.

Under the rule of the Dukes of Montefeltro, Urbino was at that time peaceful and happy, especially as compared with neighbouring states. Its court was a model of virtue, learning, and art; but Raffaello was then too young to assist at, much less to enjoy, the magnificent entertainments provided by the Duchess, or to appreciate her much coveted favour. It was only on his return to Urbino in 1504 that he first felt the benefit of her goodwill and patronage, as we shall see hereafter. The condition of Perugia was very different. It was a city where uncouth customs and party dissensions had prolonged later than elsewhere the roughness of the middle ages, and afforded Raffaello a striking contrast with his native town.

CHAPTER III.

PERUGIA, an ancient and famous city, situated on the summit of a mountain, commanding an extensive view of the Apennines, and noted as the birth-place of many great men, became a republic in the middle-ages, and was held both in reverence and fear. At the time of which we speak it was once more under ecclesiastical dominion, though, as a matter of fact, it was governed by an oligarchy of noble families, from which had sprung brave *condottieri*, such as Fortebraccio and the Piccinini. Unfortunately the collisions of these families with the Oddi and the Baglioni caused frequent disagreement and finally continual bloodshed.

Civil discords, the intercession of the Papal Legate, the preaching of the monks, the intervention of the law, or the mutual weariness of the parties appeased the contention for a time; and peace between the antagonists was strengthened by intermarriage. Yet so deep-rooted was their hatred, that the slightest spark would rekindle the flame, and once more they rushed to arms.

A numerous and meddlesome clergy, according to the custom of the time, were the instruments of intrigue on the part of Rome, now siding with the nobles, now with the people. Oppressed alike by

by nobles and clergy, the people despaired of any good accruing to themselves from the scenes which took place around them; and their discontent gave rise to feelings of dislike for their native place, from which had sprung in former years so much that was generous and great, but in which little was now left but barbarism and superstition. The immoderate luxury of the few only made the general misery more apparent. Perugian learning fell into decay, whilst pestilence and war decimated the people and exhausted the resources of the state.

In 1488 a contest broke out between the Baglioni and the Oddi in the city itself, and lasted for three days. The great number of the dead and wounded, and the burning and pillaging, bore, as usual, fatal evidence of the animosities aroused; and in all probability the Oddi would have been exterminated had not 37 of them, with 600 of their partisans, quitted Perugia. Under these circumstances the Baglioni regarded themselves as masters of the situation; especially as the property of their adversaries had been confiscated, and the Pope induced to proclaim their foes rebels. The former, however, did not remain passive; and collecting their forces in 1491, endeavoured to retrieve their losses. The attempt was repulsed, 130 of the conspirators were put to death, and their corpses displayed on the walls of the Communal Palace. Thirty-five altars were erected in the public places of the city, and for three days processions were organised and masses celebrated to purge the contaminated spot. In 1495, another

and

and more vigorous attempt was made. The Oddi took the town by surprise during the night, entered it, and occupied nearly every corner. The Baglioni, taken completely off their guard, had no means of defence; so much so, that at the first alarm, a fiery youth, Simonetto by name, about 18 years of age, was the only one who dared to face the enemy, and at last, covered with wounds, was left upon the ground for dead. Meanwhile his cousin Astorre appeared upon the scene. A vivid picture of him and of these events is drawn by one who lived in Perugia at the time, and his words deserve quotation:—"He was," says our informant, "in full armour, mounted on his horse, and, like a second Mars, displayed great bravery in the midst of the enemy; so much so, I am told by an eye witness that it would seem incredible to any one who had not seen it with his own eyes; and, he adds, never did any anvil receive so many blows as this man and his horse . . . . But, being well skilled in warfare, he plunged into the midst of the densest throng, trampling and smiting his enemies right and left, so that half a score at least lay prostrate beneath the hoofs of his high-spirited charger."

Notwithstanding the valour of this undaunted pair, the Baglioni would certainly have been defeated that night, but for a mere chance, as Guicciardini and Machiavelli relate.

The invaders having reached, without opposition, one of the principal openings of the Piazza, were

were endeavouring in spite of the crush to break a chain, placed, as is the custom in times of insurrection, across the street, when a voice cried loudly, *fall back! fall back!* This cry, echoed, from mouth to mouth, by those behind, was misunderstood as an order to fly. In consequence, the whole body retreated, not knowing from whom they fled or why they were flying. "Their adversaries, taking advantage of the disorder, gathered themselves together, and though in their flight they had lost many of their men, still pursued their assailants with undiminished vigour; and not satisfied with the blood of those who fell during this pursuit, hung others with the cruelty that commonly characterizes the conduct of the victors in partisan warfare."

The Baglioni now believed their supremacy to be fully established; for not only had the Pope restored to them all their privileges, but they also availed themselves of the superstition of the times to ingratiate themselves into the good opinion of the people. In those days there lived a nun, held in great veneration in Perugia;—the Blessed Colomba. She was a beautiful young woman, and had come from Rieti with the intention of founding a Dominican Convent; and the municipality of Perugia had furnished her with the means of doing so. "It was stated," says the chronicler, "that her only food was the holy communion. Often she would remain entranced for half-a-day; her pulse ceased and she appeared as one dead; then she would again return to herself

and

and foretell future events and threaten ruin, while at the same time she had the power of arousing in others a love and knowledge of the Supreme Being by her beautiful words and her faith in Jesus Christ." When Alexander VI. visited Perugia, accompanied by his two children, Cæsar and Lucretia, even he felt constrained to visit the Convent, when sister Colomba, probably at the instigation of the Baglioni, addressed him in words prophetic of disaster in order to hasten his departure as speedily as possible. From that time the Baglioni feigned to consult her on every emergency.

No sooner, however, were they relieved from the fear of external enemies, than the flame of discord blazed forth in the heart of their own family. This was divided into several branches, but, of the ancient generation, only two old men remained, viz. :—Guido and Rodolfo. The former had four sons, Astorre, already mentioned, Adriano, called *il Morgante*, Gismondo, and Gentile, the two latter in ecclesiastical orders. Rodolfo had three sons: Troilo, protonotary and arch-priest; Giovan Paolo, a brave leader, and the young Simonetto, who acted so bravely on the night of the attack by the Oddi in 1495. Griffonetto and Carlo were descendants of two other branches of the family. Griffonetto, the richest of the Baglioni, and of gentle manners, was brought up by his mother, the beautiful Atalanta degli Oddi, who had been left a widow at the age of 20, and had devoted the whole of her time to the education of her son.

Carlo

Carlo, on the contrary, was rough and unprepossessing in appearance, deformed, and almost hunchbacked, a slave to unchecked passions, dissipated, and as greedy of money as of authority.

The people surnamed him the *Bargiglia*, because his crest consisted of a cock with gills. He was ever plotting new schemes, and hoped to build his fortune on the downfall of his relations; and, in order to carry out his infamous design, he persuaded another young noble of the city, Jeronimo della Penna, his equal in depravity, to take part in his base intentions. This Jeronimo found strength in the support of Giulio Varano, Duke of Camerino, one of the most tyrannous noblemen of his time, who abetted him in his criminal resolves, though at the same time he was aware that he was an object of mistrust to the house of the Baglioni. It is said that Simonetto once "went down on his knees before his aged uncle, Guido, to implore permission to kill him, because he foresaw clearly that unless he did so, Jeronimo would kill them; but Guido would not consent. Simonetto in like manner addressed himself to Giovan Paolo, his brother, who likewise refused, saying, 'what is to be, must be.'" The guilty pair, however, felt they dared not venture to execute so foul a deed alone, and accordingly fixed their eyes on Griffonetto, and tried to allure him by flattery; but his gentle and generous nature revolted against the idea. Then they bethought themselves of one, Filippo, a bastard of the house of Baglioni, on whom

whom they considered they could rely, and whom they imposed upon by rousing his jealousy, and making him believe that his wife was intriguing with his cousin, Giovan Paolo. Griffonetto's wife was Zenobia Sforza, a young woman of 24, by whom he had three children, and whom he loved dearly, and by whom he was dearly loved in turn. "They seemed," says a writer of the time, "like two angels in paradise, till the devil made it appear to Griffonetto that he was being deceived by his wife; and, this suspicion having once taken root, he was soon ripe for anything, and decided to join the other traitors." After enlisting other evilly disposed confederates, they decided to wait until the nuptials of Astorre with Lavinia Colonna were celebrated, particularly as Giovan Paolo was absent, fighting at Todi. The marriage took place with great pomp, in June, 1500. The city was decorated for the festivity and hung with drapery, flowers, and various devices. In the Piazza a triumphal arch was erected, and several booths in different quarters of the town. Deputations from the neighbouring districts and estates, men and women in rich attire, came to meet the bride and bridegroom, and to offer them gifts. They alighted at the house of Griffonetto, their own not yet being ready. A supper was held on the piazza, which was covered in with canvas; and for many days in succession festive gatherings and balls followed one another, given by the inhabitants, in the booths erected for the purpose; whilst games and tournaments added to the general gaiety.

Thus

Thus for ten days the city was given up to dancing, music, and entertainments of all kinds. Giovan Paolo was still absent. At length on the 14th of July he returned, having vanquished the Todini. The same evening the whole family assembled in the Church of San Luca, to participate in the pardon and indulgence which was to be extended to them; after which they supped together, with hearts brimming over with joy and affection, little suspecting the hidden treachery which lurked close by. On the approach of night, *Bargiglia* met the conspirators at his house, inflamed them with excited speeches, fed them with extravagant promises, and having flattered the well-disposed and stimulated the faint-hearted, urged immediate action.

It was arranged that they should be divided into parties of fifteen men each, the number of their victims. They were then to march to the residences of the Baglioni, and at a given signal (the throwing of a large stone from the balcony of Guido "the magnificent") were to force open the doors, enter the apartments, and proceed to slay without pity. The task, as regarded Astorre, was easy, as he still lived with Griffonetto. They all without exception obeyed their instructions to the letter. Astorre, taken unawares and off his guard, fell an easy victim, covered with wounds, though his wife endeavoured to shield him by interposing her own person: so bloodthirsty were the assassins, that one of them, named della Cornia, ripped open the body and, tearing out the heart, actually bit it.

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The remains were then dragged down and left naked in the Piazza. The others, who had gone to the house of Guido, penetrated into the rooms and he and Gismondo were the first to fall. The sound of weapons awoke Simonetto, who, rushing to the assistance of his brothers, found himself surrounded by the very band who were in search of him. Only half-dressed he fought single-handed on the stairs and in the passages, wounding and killing by turns, till exhausted and overpowered he was done to death in the streets. The murder of a servant, who was on guard at the apartment occupied by Giovan Paolo, delayed the assassins whose task it was to slay him. Quickly gathering what was taking place, and alive to the reality of the danger, he escaped by the roof; then bounding from house-top to house-top, he reached the apartment of a student, whence he made his escape just before day-break. The conspirators were in like manner behindhand in arriving at Pandolfo's house; and he, accompanied by Gentile and Troilo, found time to mount their horses, and succeeded in flying headlong from the scene of danger. The conspirators remained masters of the city, profiting little by their crimes, and uncertain of the future, inasmuch as they had allowed some of the most powerful of the Baglioni to escape their treachery. In vain did they set the festive bells ringing, in vain did they attempt to address the people in the name of liberty. They received neither practical nor verbal support, their audience remaining mute and bewildered with terror. They then

then sent a message to the Duke of Camerino, dispatched an ambassador to the Pope, and consulted the leading men as to the best method of defence. Opinions, however, could not be brought to agree, for presentiments of misfortune in store filled every mind with fear and misgiving. The beautiful Atalanta, Griffonetto's mother, overwhelmed with horror at hearing of his treacherous conduct, quitted her home, and accompanied by Zenobia, Griffonetto's wife, and her children, retired to a villa not far distant from the town. On her son visiting her here, she spurned him with disdain, denouncing him as the destroyer of his own family. Griffonetto, confused and vexed at such a reception, exclaimed:—"Cruel mother! the day will come when you will long to speak to me but will not be able."

Meanwhile, though ignorant of the fate of his relatives, Giovan Paolo hastened on, and, resting neither day nor night, and having even denied himself necessary food, arrived at Masciano, and instantly sent his trusty companions to Vitellozzo Vitelli, at Todi, urgently praying him to lend immediate assistance, while he himself sought aid of his friends. Twenty-four hours had scarcely elapsed since the shocking events we have related when he found himself on his way to Perugia, at the head of a small army of 800 horse, and a goodly body of infantry. Encouragement met him at every point of the road, and advice to hasten forward and rely with confidence on speedy victory. On the other hand, the enemy sent a trumpeter to propose a truce; but neither man nor reply returned to them.

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He reached the gates of the city a little before sunset, and meeting with no resistance, at once entered. "He rode in front on a black horse," says the chronicler, "sword in hand, resembling St. George as he galloped his charger through the streets, comforting those he passed, and calling upon all who were friendly disposed to evince their true love, whereupon they came out of their houses and sided with him . . . . He also begged the women to pray God to make him victor over his enemies." Carlo, the Bargiglia, and Jeronimo had fled from the city. The only one who remained and had sufficient courage to confront him was Griffonetto. Giovan Paolo, riding up, accosted him in these words: "Traitor, God help thee! I will not kill thee myself! I will not steep my hands in my own blood as thou hast done!" Then he turned his back upon him. The soldiers, however, who followed, fell upon him and inflicted such wounds that he dropped down to all appearance dead. Meanwhile, Giovan Paolo, slaying all who made a show of resistance, and driving before him those who dared not, was soon master of the situation, before even the whole of his men had reached the Piazza. More than one hundred persons perished on this occasion, whilst many houses were burnt and others sacked.

The news no sooner reached the ears of Atalanta, than she hastened to the city, accompanied by Zenobia, "to see Griffonetto before he expired, and, having been allowed to pass . . . . and finding him still alive, she exclaimed: 'Son, here

here is your unhappy mother, who now would wish to speak with you, but is unable, as you foretold!' Then the son fixed his eyes upon his mother, whilst she, prudent and wise, stifled her grief in order to comfort her dear child, and exhort him to forgive those who had been the cause of his death, and to make some sign in token of forgiveness. The young man then stretched forth his hand and expired, amidst the blessings of his mother, in lieu of the maledictions she had originally heaped upon his head. It would be impossible to describe the grief of his disconsolate parent, and of the wife whom he had loved so tenderly. Stained with the blood of her child, she entered the Piazza to see if she could find anyone who, moved by cruelty, would kill her—for she would have preferred death to life—but all seemed to look up to her with respect."

Such was the unhappy condition of Perugia, in 1500, when Raffaello went to take up his abode there; and the cruel incidents, just recorded in the words of an eye-witness, must assuredly have deeply impressed the gentle youth fresh from peaceful Urbino. Further, is it not very natural to suppose that, after reading the description by the chronicler of Astorre Baglioni, concerning the outbreak of 1495, Raffaello thence derived the conception of the "Eliodoro," which he afterwards painted in the Vatican? And likewise that, when considering the comparison of Giovan Paolo Baglioni to St. George, the idea suggested itself to the artist's mind to produce the picture of St. George, which he

he did a few years later on? It is certain that the massacres which took place in Perugia, in 1500, had a strong influence on one of Raffaello's finest works, inasmuch as the unhappy Atalanta, whose grief even time did not assuage, commissioned him, on his return to Perugia, in 1506, to paint the "Entombment," in memory of that sad calamity, as an expiatory offering for the crime, and as a visible memorial of the sacred unceasing grief of a mother. This picture, completed in 1507, and placed originally in the Church of San Francesco, is now in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

THREE years, as we conjectured, completed Raffaello's apprenticeship under Perugino, —a period sufficiently long when we take into consideration the lad's wonderful predisposition for art and the admirable tutoring he had already received from his father and from Timoteo Viti; long enough indeed to enable him to master that artist's instructions in all its details. The exquisitely sensitive nature of Raffaello rendered him peculiarly open to the influences of Perugino, whose manner is strikingly apparent in all still extant drawings and paintings executed by Raffaello at this period. So plainly evident is this, that Vasari, speaking of one of his panels, says:—"Were it not that it bears his name, nobody would believe it to be the work of Raffaello, but would take it to be that of Pietro." For this reason it will be useful to recount the works of Raffaello belonging to this time, selecting only those about whose authenticity no doubt exists; for tradition has attributed to him many more than an enlightened and stricter criticism, based on sound judgment, has been able to consider as his productions. Let us try to be exact.

There is in the Uffizi at Florence, the drawing of a female head (Philpot, phot. colln. No. 2,797) in

in which it would appear that Raffaello had not yet entirely abandoned the manner of Timoteo, but had blended it with that of Perugino. The same feeling is equally noticeable in the drawing representing the Virgin Mary offering a pomegranate to the Infant Jesus, which is in the Albertina collection (Braun. phots. No. 149). This is a modification of a drawing by Perugino, now at Berlin, the oval face of the Virgin, and the form of her hands being after the style of Timoteo. For these reasons I venture to fix the year 1500 as the date of these two drawings: that is, in the earliest days of Raffaello's sojourn in Perugia, the transition from the one school to the other being plainly perceptible to the careful observer.

The picture, however, in Lord Dudley's collection—Christ on the Cross—the date of which may be fixed as 1501, is treated entirely after the manner of Perugino. That it is a genuine Raffaello is attested by his signature, affixed for the first time to his productions. Our Saviour is represented nailed to the cross, whilst the blood, streaming from his side, is being collected by two angels: on opposite sides stand the Virgin and Saint John, and at his feet kneel Mary Magdalene and Saint Jerome. Anybody who examines the picture will find no difficulty in pronouncing it an imitation of Perugino. The attitude of the Saviour is similar to that in the Crucifixion in the Chapel of the Calza; the St. John is taken from the Descent from the Cross in the Pitti

Pitti Gallery; whilst the Magdalen, the Virgin, and the Saint Jerome are, with slight modifications, copied from the fresco in the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi; and the two angels bear a strong resemblance to those of the fresco in the Cambio and, the Resurrection in the Vatican. The two last named pictures Raffaello had an opportunity of seeing: the others remained in Florence where Perugino painted them; but it is only natural to suppose that he took at least his sketches and drawings back with him to Perugia. The charming drawing at Oxford, representing the Virgin and Child (Braun, phot. No. 10) may also be assigned to this period, when Raffaello continued to introduce the holy nimbus around the Virgin's head—a practice which he afterwards discontinued.

A discerning critic (Lermolieff) draws attention, amongst other works of this period, to a portrait in the Borghese Gallery, catalogued under the title of *Unknown Portrait, by Holbein.* If we compare this portrait with that which Perugino painted of himself on the wall of the Cambio the resemblance will be at once apparent, and a close observer will detect the same mode of handling which Raffaello was wont to adopt at this time.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* is a magnificent work, as is also the *predella* in three compartments, containing respectively the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. These pictures are both in the Vatican

Vatican, and were painted on commission, for Maddalena degli Oddi. When Valentino Borgia was exercising his cruelty in the Romagna and (according to Machiavelli's account of January, 1502) making the small gentry feel its effects, Giovan Paolo Baglioni abandoned Perugia, and the Oddi with other fugitives returned. As soon as Alexander VI. died (August 10th, 1503) the Duke Valentino, being then also at the point of death, lost both his power and his position; fortune changed, and the Oddi once more made room for the Baglioni by exiling themselves from Perugia. Knowing that the picture of the Coronation was ordered by Maddalena degli Oddi, and, on completion, placed forthwith, before the second exile of the family, in the church of the Benedictines, there cannot be any doubt that it belongs to the early part of 1502. Two of the studies for this painting are to be seen in the Wicar Museum, at Lille—the head of an angel and the principal group. The first still bears evidence of Timoteo's style; whilst as to the second, though it is not the original drawing, it is evidently a tracing of the same. It is somewhat remarkable that Raffaello should have chosen for his models two youths attired in the costume of the period; one sitting for the Virgin, the other for the figure of Christ about to crown her. This circumstance is probably due to the difficulty of engaging female models in Umbria—perhaps in a measure to the scant supply of money our artist had to spend in this way. The composition combines beauty with simplicity. The

The Twelve Apostles surround the open tomb of the Virgin, which, in place of the body, contains lilies and roses in full bloom. Some of the Apostles express wonder, some turn enquiringly to their neighbours, whilst others raise their eyes towards heaven, as though seeking enlightenment concerning the great mystery. St. Thomas holds affectionately the girdle of the Blessed Virgin. The landscape is lovely in the extreme. Meanwhile the Coronation appears to be taking place in the bright glory of Heaven, whither Mary has ascended. In the midst of angelic music and dancing, she is seated in an attitude of exquisite modesty, awaiting the crown which the Saviour stands ready to place on her brow. Here again the influence of Perugino over Raffaello is traceable, especially in the angels—the inspiration being apparently drawn from the Assumption for Vallombrosa of the former. But already we can feel the Raffaello that was to be, and possibly it was one of these pictures that suggested the angel in the Madonna di San Sisto. Only a few studies and drawings for this picture remain, and may be thus enumerated. 1st. One of the angels discoursing sweet music on the violin, in the British Museum (Braun, phot. No. 70). 2nd. A study for the head and hands of Saint Thomas, in the Lille collection (Braun, No. 58). 3rd, and lastly, a splendid study for the head of the first Apostle, (who stands on the right of the spectator), in the possession of Mr. Malcolm. The predella, divided, as already stated, into three compartments, and which

which is to be seen in the Vatican, remains doubtful. The Cartoon of the Annunciation is in the Louvre ; the sketch of the Presentation in the Temple is at Oxford ; there exists also a sketch of the Adoration of the Magi in the possession of Cavalier Donnini, of Perugia. His powerful genius for composition already clearly shows itself in the method of his grouping, and in the diversity of expression to be found in his attitudes and countenances.

Finally, to the same period, which I have defined as Peruginesque, may be attributed the Madonna and Child, which has now passed from the Solly collection to the Berlin Gallery. The composition is as follows :—the Virgin is represented reading from a book, which she holds in her right hand, whilst her left hand supports the foot of the Infant Jesus, who rests on her knee, holding in His left hand a canary. Already Raffaello had begun to imitate Perugino, even in the very mannerism which, as I have observed, manifested itself in the painter at the beginning of the century. The master's return to Florence must therefore be regarded as a bit of good fortune for his pupil, for whom henceforth was opened a career of prosperity and success.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER V.

AFTER the departure of Perugino for Florence, it is very probable that Raffaello, who remained in Perugia for some time afterwards, was induced, by sympathy with those of his own profession, to form a closer intimacy with Bernardino Pinturicchio, who had taken up his abode in the city about twelve months previously. From Vasari we learn that they were friends and fellow-disciples of Pietro, but this is without foundation. Pinturicchio was born about thirty years before Raffaello, and had resided for a considerable time in Rome, in the capacity of painter to Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., for whom he executed many fine works; so when, at the age of sixteen, Raffaello went to Perugia, Pinturicchio was in his forty-fifth year, and had already attained celebrity. It is, therefore, impossible to associate the two as members of the same school, or as fellow-disciples of the same master. The probability is that, as Bernardino was in Perugia in 1501, 1502, and a great part of 1503, Raffaello frequented his studio, gleaning what instruction he could, and freely copying, as was his wont, all that he considered worthy of imitation.

In the following lines Vasari has passed a severe criticism on Bernardino Betti, or rather, di Betto

Betto :—"as many are aided by fortune, without being endowed with extraordinary ability, so are there numbers of able men, on the contrary, who are constantly persecuted by an adverse destiny. From this we perceive clearly, that fortune's favourite children are those who depend on her only, unaided by ability of any kind; for it pleases her to exalt such by her favour as would never have made themselves known by means of their own merit; and of this we have an instance in Pinturicchio of Perugia, who, although he performed many labours and received aid from many persons, had nevertheless a much greater name than was merited by his works"; and again, in referring to the paintings in the library at Siena, which were much praised at the time, he says :—"the sketches and cartoons for all the stories which he executed in that place where by the hand of Raffaello da Urbino."

Further on we shall be better qualified to form an opinion on this subject; but for the present, and in general terms, I take the liberty of expressing an opinion diametrically opposed to that of the Florentine biographer. I do indeed believe that fortune plays no small part in the success and glory of an artist as in other human affairs; but, with respect to Bernardino, she was not only ungenerous, she was even malicious and cruel. Born of humble parents, and somewhat dull of hearing, Bernardino di Betto was at first called *il Sordicchio* (the deaf), and afterwards, as disparagement of his paintings, he was nicknamed

Pinturicchio

Pinturicchio. Furthermore, Vasari ascribes to him a strange and fantastic temper, asserting that he died from envy and a broken heart, having, whilst working for the monks of Saint Francis, at Siena, enabled them by his superstition to discover 500 ducats concealed in a chest. The truth is, that his faithless wife and her guilty lover locked him up in the house, depriving him of every comfort and leaving him to die of want and inanition. It would, therefore, be more charitable on our part to pity his wretched end, rather than to condemn his life. All who have visited Rome will allow the greatness of Pinturicchio as a painter, who, if he was not the superior, was at all events the equal of Perugino. In 1479, he came to Rome, and, under the protection of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, painted some frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, for Sixtus IV., in company with other eminent artists. Here again Vasari and his followers attributed to Perugino, as I have said before, the Christ giving the Keys to Saint Peter, which is really by Pinturicchio, but also the Baptism of Christ, which is also his work, and they even attributed the Story of Moses and Zippora to Signorelli, whereas it is also by Pinturicchio. This last named work is especially beautiful. The composition is at once simple and full of dramatic incident and force of expression.

In 1483, the year of Raffaello's birth, Pinturicchio painted in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, the lunette in the first chapel on the right and also the altar-piece of the Nativity, and in the chapel

chapel, the ceiling, the lunette, and the picture of the Virgin with Saints over the altar. Equally important are the frescoes which decorate the ceiling of the choir in this same church, where the two monuments of Sansovino find worthy shelter. Afterwards he was engaged at the church of Aracoeli, where he painted scenes in the life of Saint Bernardino of Siena. Although these works have been much damaged by recent restorations, they are, even in their present state, highly commendable for their composition and the general grace of their treatment.

Fortunately, other paintings by Pinturicchio have been handed down to us intact, as for example, those in the Borgia apartments in the Vatican. Alexander VI. commissioned him to decorate his favourite private rooms, where he was in the habit of receiving his family and friends, and where he formed his bold political schemes. The Borgian apartments are situated exactly under those which have become famous as the *Stanze* of Raphael, and their frescoes rank high amongst the monuments of that marvellous seat of ancient and modern art. It may be added that, whereas Raffaello's frescoes have been several times retouched, those of the Borgian apartments remain in their original state. The ornamentation of the ceiling may be classed amongst the finest and richest specimens of decoration of that century, second perhaps to none in Italy, unless it be to those of the palace at Mantua Equally worthy of admiration are the paintings with which

Pinturicchio

Pinturicchio enriched the walls. Leaving out of the question the Sibyls and Prophets in the first and second chambers, we find depicted in the third the acts of the *Trivio* and *Quadrivio* in seven compartments ; and in the fourth and fifth the most important events connected with the lives of the Virgin and of several saints. I think I need not fear contradiction when I state that these paintings will bear comparison with the finest works of his contemporaries, with the works, for instance, of Luca Signorelli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo ; at one time their treatment reminds us of Botticelli, at another of Andrea Mantegna. Every one of them is worthy of individual notice, whether it be for composition, harmony, expression, figures, or landscape. This apartment of the Borgia is so little visited, and therefore so little appreciated by the frequenters of the Vatican Galleries, that, should these words of mine serve to direct the attention of my countrymen or of strangers to these almost unknown treasures, I shall consider my labour amply rewarded.

Vasari relates that the artist had painted over the door of one of the rooms the Signora Giulia Farnese as our Lady, and in the same picture the head of Pope Alexander worshipping her. This episode of the loves of Borgia and the beautiful Giulia, with which is connected the exaltation of a Cardinal to the position of Pope, under the title of Paul III., led to the restoration of the Papacy in all its original austere dignity. Such a profanation of one of the most sublime ideals of Christianity—

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the Holy Virgin—was thoroughly characteristic of the times and of the corrupt manners then prevalent at the court of the Borgias. But, although I have said that the above apartments are intact, we may, nevertheless, search in vain for this picture. We must, therefore, conclude either that Vasari was under some misconception, or that he lent too willing an ear to an idle tale. At the same time, Vasari is not the only narrator of the story, for it may also be found in a manuscript chronicle in the Vatican library written prior to the time of the Florentine biographer, the account differing only in this respect, that the picture, according to the chronicler, was painted, not in the Vatican, but in the Castle of St. Angelo ; and, as a matter of fact, we know that Pinturicchio did actually paint many of the incidents in the life of Alexander VI. in that edifice.

It is nothing short of a disaster that time or the work of man should have destroyed these art-treasures, as thereby we have lost many valuable portraits of contemporary and eminent persons, such as the Duke of Candia, Valentino, Lucrezia, and Isabella the Catholic, Giangiacomo Trivulzio, the Duke of Pitigliano, Dyem, and Charles VIII.

After the year 1500 Pinturicchio returned to Umbria and worked at Spello. Afterwards he went to Perugia, his presence at which place, in 1501, is testified to by documents; and here he still was when Pietro Vannucci left, as I have before remarked. A short time previously he had received

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an offer from Cardinal Piccolomini to execute paintings in the Cathedral Library at Siena, recording the acts of his uncle, Eneas Silvio, who had been Pope under the title of Pius II. The contract for this work has been preserved and bears date 29th of June, 1502. It expressly stipulates that Pinturicchio "shall be bound to do all the drawing of the cartoons, as well as the mural paintings, with his own hand; that he shall paint the heads with his own hand, all in fresco, and shall retouch and finish in fresco until the work is perfect." Let it be observed that these terms are entirely opposed to the theory of Vasari—that the cartoons, wholly or in part, were the work of Raffaello; and likewise in direct opposition to the idea entertained by many that Raffaello had assisted Pinturicchio with the frescoes. Another strong argument against such a supposition is, that Sigismondo Tizio, then curate of the parish in which Pinturicchio resided, and a careful and accurate writer, when enumerating those who more or less took part in the decoration of the Library, makes no mention whatever of Raffaello. Finally, on diligent examination of the frescoes in question, we find nothing to mark the hand of the latter. Consequently, this tradition must be due to municipal vanity, which, a century later, caused many towns to boast that they possessed paintings by the great Urbinite, or, at least, that some of their artists had studied under so distinguished a master.

The only point left to investigate, then, would be

be whether Raffaello did actually, as Vasari declares, make the drawings and cartoons in spite of the express agreement. To support this assertion three drawings are quoted: the one in the Uffizi (Phot: Braun, 510) representing the departure of Eneas Silvio for the Council of Basle; the second in the possession of Baldeschi at Perugia, illustrating the meeting of the Emperor Frederick III. and his bride, Eleonora of Portugal, outside the gate of Siena; and, thirdly, that belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, representing Eneas Silvio, when Cardinal, stooping to kiss the foot of Eugenius IV. in the presence of the Curia. (The opposite assertion, however, carries equal weight, that the sketches were attributed to Raffaello only in consequence of Vasari's written statements.) It is incumbent on us, then, to examine these designs in themselves, independently of any preconceived opinion, and with that minute observation of every detail which characterises modern criticism, and by means of which we are able to recognize almost to a certainty the personal traits and graphic methods peculiar to individual artists.

Some there are indeed who deem it impossible to doubt that these are the work of Raffaello, either because of the fineness of the composition —finer than the productions of Pinturicchio in general—or because some of the male figures and horses are Raffaellesque in style, or, lastly, because in the first two drawings words are inserted descriptive of the event, and the hand writing is reputed to be that of Raffaello himself. Regarding the

the general slur thus cast on Pinturicchio's skill, I claim to set up in his defence those beautiful productions of his of which we have already spoken, reminding my readers that they were executed either before Raffaello was born or during his boyhood. As to the specific objections based on characteristic signs, if some are Raffaellesque (and why should not two such masters fall accidentally into the same vein?) how many more are there peculiar to Pinturicchio alone, and so decidedly peculiar to him that Raffaello never even attempted to imitate them! The argument as to the inscriptions also, which at first sight certainly bears favourable signs of probability, falls to the ground if we consider that it rests only on the guesses of critics or amateurs. An expert in the art of calligraphy can alone be trusted to decide such a point, especially when it is borne in mind that handwritings of the period so strongly resemble each other in form that only great skill and long practice can establish their identity in manuscripts of the beginning of the 15th century. For these reasons it may fairly be concluded that Vasari is incorrect in his conclusions, and that Pinturicchio, already advanced in years and a master learned in his profession, would not have invited a youth, barely in his twentieth year, to become his substitute in drawing the cartoons for his compositions.

It is an admitted fact that the greater portion of the drawings in the Academy of the Fine Arts at Venice, formerly belonging to Bossi, which have

have been considered until lately to be specimens of Raffaello's art, are in reality by the hand of Pinturicchio. The most minute examination leads to the conclusion that only two (both on the same sheet) are by Raffaello (Phot: Perini, Nos. 66 and 82); the first, a sketch representing a combat between a horseman and two men on foot; the second, a man carrying a flagstaff: all nude figures and consequently studies, but executed at a much later period than that under consideration, perhaps before 1510. The hand of Pinturicchio is distinctly visible in the other drawings; and in corroboration of this assertion, several of them are plainly sketches drawn either for his paintings in the Sistine Chapel or for Santa Maria del Popolo, anterior to the early days of Raffaello; whilst others are for the Library of the Duomo. Let honour then be given where honour is due, and let every attempt to rob so great an artist as Pinturicchio of the merit he has so richly earned be strenuously resisted and, as far as lies in our power, disproved. Were it possible to consult Raffaello himself, so bright a star amongst artists, he would be the last to desire to obscure the fame of his fellow-worker, and would rise superior to such a petty attempt at misappropriation. It may be added that, during the period which elapsed from the departure of Perugino to that of Pinturicchio, when Raffaello was 18 or 19, he derived advantages from the experience of the latter. As a fact it may be stated that the picture dated 1503, No. 145 in the Berlin Gallery, representing the Madonna

Madonna and Child and two Saints, Jerome and Francis, is taken, with slight variations, from a drawing by Pinturicchio in the Albertina collection at Vienna.

Mention must not be omitted of two panels by Raffaello, belonging to about the same period in his early development, *i.e.*, the "Madonna del Libro," executed for the Connestabile della Staffa family, and now at St. Petersburgh. In this instance the style of Perugino is again conspicuous; indeed it may be said to be a copy, slightly improved, of a drawing by that master which is now at Berlin. The other panel is the St. Sebastian, a half-length figure in the Lochis di Bergamo Gallery. This for some time was attributed to Lo Spagna, and later on to Eusebio da San Giorgio, both pupils of Perugino; which proves that those who came under the influence of this master showed it in the common resemblance of their works.

CHAPTER VI.

IN the year 1503, probably after the death of Alexander VI., and the liberation of Umbria from the tyrannical rule of Valentino, Raffaello visited Città di Castello; and it is certain that he there painted, for the Church of Saint Augustine, a picture representing the Coronation of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino. Of this work it is not in our power to speak from personal observation, inasmuch as it has been lost. Two sketches, however, are extant, one being at Lille, the other at Oxford. It remained at Città di Castello up to 1789, when it was purchased by Pius VI. and placed in the Vatican ; but, on the invasion of Italy by the French, it was stolen, and its whereabouts has never been discovered.

Raffaello also painted a *pallium*, representing on one side the Trinity, on the other, the creation of Eve : this still exists in the Porta family, but is much altered by restoration. Finally, he executed one of his most graceful compositions for the Church of Saint Francis, viz. : the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin, now in the Brera, at Milan. Who that has gazed upon it does not retain in his mind a deep impression of this beautiful picture ? In the foreground stands the

the High Priest in the act of joining the hands of the Virgin and Saint Joseph ; behind the former is a group of women in attendance upon her, whilst around the latter are the youths who have been unsuccessful in the trial of the green wand, one of them snapping his in despair. In the background is a small temple after the style of Bramante. Sweet as are the composition and execution of this picture, it must be remembered that, with slight exceptions, it is entirely derived from one representing the same subject by Perugino, which also was carried off by the French during their occupation, and never recovered, notwithstanding repeated applications for its restoration. It is now at Caen. Here it would be well for us to call to mind that at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, when art had attained the highest pitch of splendour, it was deemed neither piratical nor unworthy for an artist to imitate either wholly or in part the works of his predecessors ; while in the painting last referred to we can see how creative real genius is even when copying the work of another. Though Raffaello was but twenty years old at the time when he painted this picture, the pupil leaves the master far behind; and indeed the copy is so transformed as to become an original work of art. It was this very picture which stamped the artist in the opinion of his contemporaries, and from it they prophesied the grand future in store for the youthful Urbinite.

After wandering for some time in Umbria, Raffaello

Raffaello returned in 1504 to his home in Urbino, in order to revisit his relations, from whom he had been absent for several years. Here he remained until the month of October; and it cannot be doubted that his reception and the congratulations offered to him were warm and hearty, for the sound of his fame had already been wafted over the mountains that surrounded his home, and had penetrated even further still.

CHAPTER VII.

URBINO had been governed for nearly forty years by Federigo, Duke of Montefeltro, who was a natural son of the late Lord. Inspired with military ardour before the age of sixteen, he entered, without followers and without money the service of Nicolò Piccinino. On the death of his brother, Oddantonio, he was, in 1444, proclaimed Lord of Urbino. This, however, did not cause him to abandon the profession of arms; and he still served Francesco Sforza, and Piccinino, Florence, Venice, and the Pope, and, at times, in the army of his own States. Contemporary writers, notably Guicciardini and Machiavelli, speak of him as a great captain, possessing, in unusual combination, those qualities of audacity and prudence which distinguished the leaders under whom he had fought. Held in great esteem by Pius II., who conferred upon him the title of Duke, his fame extended beyond Italy, and he was even decorated with the Order of the Garter. As a prince, his conduct was exemplary; so that he was beloved by his subjects in his life time, and sincerely lamented at his death. He was eager to govern with justice, and refrained from oppressing them with taxes; and in consequence Urbino flourished, or to use the words of a writer

a writer of the time: "His people were all well to do . . . . never was one of the inhabitants seen to go begging." Benign towards his immediate associates, merciful to his enemies, faithful to all, Federigo of Montefeltro presents a wholesome contrast to the fraudulence and brutality of the other princes of this period. The same chronicler tells us that so perfect was his domestic economy, "that, although he had upwards of five hundred mouths to feed at his own expense—mostly soldiers—in no religious community did men live in such order and harmony as in that house." In common with most gentlemen of the time, he was a lover of antiquities, literature, and the fine arts, devoting his leisure hours to the classics, which at that time were reviving in popular appreciation, and gathering round him artists from all parts of Italy and Flanders, as well as the most accomplished musicians. With respect to architecture he was so great an admirer of this branch of art, that he built one of the most elegant and sumptuous palaces in Italy, adorning it with tapestries and vases, antique statues in bronze and marble, choice paintings, and all kinds of musical instruments, everything being most rare and excellent.

He was succeeded in 1482 by his son Guidobaldo, while still a child, who, though he followed his father's example in everything, was far less fortunate. In the first place, his health, which was naturally delicate, kept him almost constantly in a state of suffering; in consequence of which he had

had no issue, although wedded to one of the most beautiful and amiable of Princesses, Elisabeth Gonzaga, of Mantua. In addition to this, the times were growing troublous. Charles VIII. was descending into Italy; and he was called upon at the same time to contend with the enmity of Alexander VI., and to maintain war against Duke Valentino, who aimed at the sole sovereignty of the three provinces—Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria. It is a remarkable fact that each time the tempest gathered and threatened to burst over his head, Guidobaldo gave way without offering the slightest opposition to the enemy. This was owing neither to lack of courage nor military skill, for we have proof enough of his prowess when he fought for the Florentines against Pisa, and again under Gonsalvo against the French; whilst, at the battle of Soriano, his horse was killed under him, and he remained almost the last on the field, in consequence of which he was taken prisoner and compelled to pay a ransom of forty-thousand ducats. Courage and ability, therefore, were not wanting; but, knowing only too well from experience the misery and ruin which ever follow in the track of war, he would fain have spared his people such a calamity; and was moreover confident that when fortune changed, his recall would soon follow. And so in fact it did. In June, 1502, Guidobaldo surrendered his kingdom to Valentino, and recovered it without bloodshed in the following October! The accounts of contemporary writers must

must be studied if we desire to thoroughly understand with what joy and cordiality he was received on this occasion in Urbino. "It would be impossible," says the chronicler, "for me to form an estimate of the number of persons, great and small, from all parts, who thronged the streets : at every corner refreshments were ready . . . . As he approached the grounds, scarce could his horse proceed for the crowd . . . . Our lord did not rise to-day (October 19th) because he was weary and knocked up, and one of his knees pained him, but everybody went to speak to him at his bedside, and day and night to each in turn he gave audience, and willingly saw everyone. Throughout the districts and countryside good will prevailed everywhere : and although some had lost property, some a husband, some a brother, and others a son, yet were they comforted by the return of their lord. I lost effects to the value of 25 ducats at Monte Calvi, the cause of which was that I could sow no seed that year ; but, when I beheld my lord, it seemed unto me that I had lost nothing, especially when I touched his hand and felt his kindly greeting. May God spare him to us." But suddenly, Valentino, the subduer of the petty lords of Romagna, returns to the attack! Guidobaldo summons to a council all the noted men in his dominions, and, laying before them his perilous position, seeks their aid and advice. With one consent they exhort the Prince to defend himself ; even the women offer their jewels and trinkets ; nevertheless the Duke heeds not their

their entreaties; he decides on withdrawing, and not content with this, "he caused all the fortresses in the province to be dismantled, considering them dangerous because coveted by men, in kindly consideration for whom he would not have them; whilst, on the other hand, he saw that he could not defend them against the enemy without an army in the field: therefore he resolved to destroy them."

On this occasion also his prediction was verified, for Alexander VI. expiring on the 19th of August, 1503, and Duke Valentino being also on his death-bed, the people rose once more and recalled Guidobaldo, who made no long delay in returning to his beloved Urbino. On account of there being no direct heir, Guidobaldo had adopted Francesco Maria, son of his sister Giovanna, the widow of one of the della Rovere. After the death of her husband, she remained lady of Senigallia, and was assisted in the government by Andrea Doria, and her son was sent to his uncle, under whom he was brought up and educated. After the Pontificate of Pius III., which lasted only 26 days, Julius II. was elected, a Rovere by birth, uncle to the youth, and much attached to him; and from this time fortune seemed to change in favour of the house of Montefeltro. Guidobaldo was appointed Captain-in-Chief of the Church, went to Rome, and the Duke Valentino, the terror-inspiring chief who had deprived him of his dominions, came to him in great humiliation, seeking his protection, and offering unconditional

unconditional surrender. Guidobaldo's generous nature induced him not only to forgive him, but even to promise him a recommendation to the Pope. Valentino, however, succeeded in leaving Rome and going to Gonzalvo, the Viceroy of Naples, who sent him to Navarra, where he perished soon after on the battle-field.

From 1503 to 1508, that is to say up to the time of Guidobaldo's death, the Court of Urbino resumed its air of gaiety and elegance, and when Raffaello arrived, was in the enjoyment of peace and serenity, with a fair prospect of a long continuance of this happy state of affairs. Under such circumstances, that quiet city must have made a deep impression on the mind of the youthful artist, when contrasting it with the tumultous and bustling town of Perugia.

The Court of Urbino is vividly described by a member of it—Count Baldassare Castiglione. A book written by him, entitled *Il Cortigiano*, not only gives a clear account of its manners and customs, but is, moreover, a gem of Italian literature. That language, which had been neglected for a century to make way for the adoption or imitation of Latin, was now regaining its former brilliancy, though no longer possessing the spontaneity and natural grace of the writers of the 13th century. The leading spirit of the Court was the Duchess Elizabeth, supremely beautiful, gentle, talented, and of highly cultivated mind. She possessed an exquisite taste for art, and above all her virtue was unimpeachable. With her resided another

another Princess, Emilia Pia, a widow, of whom it was said that she was endowed "with so lovely a genius and judgment, that she was looked up to as the general teacher; and it seemed as if everybody derived from her both sense and valour." Amongst these illustrious notabilities, was the magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, son of Lorenzo, and brother of the Cardinal, afterwards Leo X. This is the same Giuliano who subsequently married Filiberta of Savoy, and who died at the early age of 37, being thus prevented from attaining the eminent position which the Pope had designed for his future career. There was also Cardinal Bibbiena, a man of great literary reputation, whose shrewd and graceful readiness of wit charmed all who heard him. It may be remarked that the dignity of the Cardinal did not prevent him from writing the first modern comedy, just as Castiglione penned the eclogue entitled *il Tirsi*, also composed for and recited at the above-named Court. We must mention also Ottaviano Fregoso, a man of rare prudence and most courteous demeanour, and a staunch and trustworthy friend. Before he became Cardinal, Pietro Bembo, who was regarded as a great revivalist of Italian literature, and Nicolò Accolti, styled *l' Unico d'Arezzo*—learned and of pleasing manners—both occasionally spent some of their time at this Court. There were also Cesare Gonzaga and Gaspare Pallavicino, besides many other ladies and gentlemen. In short, the Court of Perugia was the centre and source of all refinement, elegance, and culture.

"I

"I do not believe," says Castiglione, "that the charm derived from a highly prized and genial society was ever so keenly enjoyed in any other place, as it was at one time there." In speaking of the advanced state of education amongst women of the higher class in those days, Pallavicino makes this curious remark: "Since we have endowed women with so many qualities, why should we not allow them also to govern cities, make laws, and lead our armies!" It is a true saying "That there is nothing new under the sun," and it is interesting to find that the eligibility of women for important posts, so much a subject of discussion in these days of ours, should have been familiarly talked about by men of the fifteenth century.

This Court so refined, so excellent an example of the ancient and deep-rooted affection entertained by the people for their Prince—a Court where learned and literary men held communion with women graced with every virtue and accomplishment—could not but be congenial to one of Raffaello's nature and tastes. Having already acquired, by the aid of his famous masters, the practical part of his profession, here it was that he received those noble and beautiful inspirations which afterwards shone forth in his compositions. Here it was that he renewed his old acquaintance with Timoteo Viti, and here he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the most illustrious men of the Court, and of sowing the seeds of that friendship between himself and Baldassare

Baldassare Castiglione, which, strengthened by their frequent intercourse in Rome, lasted throughout his life! He also secured the favour and patronage of the Prince, and of the Ducal family, as is shown by the letter of recommendation he received for the Governor of Florence, Pier Soderini, from Giovanna, Guidobaldo's sister, who had added to her other titles that of Prefectess of Rome; and should the authenticity of this letter be contested, other proofs of the support of the Montefeltro family are forthcoming. In 1508, Raffaello, wishing to obtain the order for certain works to be executed in Florence, wrote to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, and while begging him to solicit, on his behalf, the Prince's influence with the Governor, expressly says:—I recommend myself to him as his old servant and friend!" These words are clear and concise, and leave no doubt whatever of the friendship of the one and the gratitude of the other.

Serlio, in his work on architecture, adds:—"that if the good Duchess Isabella, of Urbino, had not first raised and advanced Raffaello in his younger days, as did afterwards Julius II. and Leo X., it is certain that he could not have raised the art of painting to such splendour as he did, nor would he have left behind so many admirable pictures and buildings as those which are now to be seen." To the period of his sojourn at Urbino, which lasted up to the autumn of 1504, belong two small paintings now in the Louvre. In one of these pictures our artist for the first time has attempted

attempted to depict a stirring scene. Here he has represented Saint George wearing a helmet, clad in bright armour, mounted on a fiery white charger, and in combat with the dragon. In the other, the Archangel Michael, serene and triumphant, is in the act of placing his foot upon the devil ; beneath, three persons are being devoured by serpents ; in the background are seen the walls of the city of Dis.

"E il fuoco eterno
"Ch'entro le affuoca le dimostra rosse."

Reminiscences of Dante are manifest in this picture. Vasari also mentions another work : Christ in the Garden, with the three Apostles in the distance, asleep—painted for Guidobaldo—and he tells us, "that it is so exquisitely finished that no miniature painter could have done it better or otherwise." It was supposed to be the same picture which passed from the hands of the Gabrielli family into the possession of Mr. Fuller-Maitland, and subsequently into the National Gallery, London. Frizzoni, however, a close observer, attributes the work to Perugino. If we rely on Vasari's testimony, we must conclude that this work of Raffaello's, as well as his portrait of Guidobaldo, has been lost to us. There can be no doubt of the existence of the latter ; it is mentioned in a posthumous letter of Baldassare Castiglione, as is also a portrait of the Duchess Elizabeth. As to the two small but exquisite Madonnas, painted, according to Vasari, for Guidobaldo, and which, he says, existed at the Court of Urbino in his time

time; there is no certainty of their existence, unless one of them be the so-called Madonna d'Orleans, which is now in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale.

Lastly to this same epoch belongs the small picture of the Three Graces. Reference is not made to the drawing in the "Accademia" at Venice, attributed to Pinturicchio, but to the picture which passed from Urbino into the Borghese family, and thence into the possession of Lord Dudley. The Greek group of the Three Graces found at Rome towards the end of the fifteenth century, and brought to Siena by Francesco Piccolomini, and placed in the library of the Duomo, attracted considerable admiration in those days, when the resurrection of antiquities was in vogue. Raffaello made no servile copy, but impressed his own genius upon his work, and differed essentially from the Greek handling of the subject; and it would be curious to enquire, why the same beautiful subject should have been so differently treated in the time of Pericles and that of Leo X., but space does not permit us to do so. It may well be asked, when did Raffaello first see the group? It was probably when at Siena, on a visit to Pinturicchio, with whom he had been on such intimate terms, this journey having in all likelihood taken place before his going to Urbino. But this matters little. What is important, and what I have striven to prove is, that, although Raffaello did go to Siena, there is no actual proof that he executed the

cartoons

cartoons for Pinturicchio's paintings, still less that he ever retouched the frescoes.

Mention has frequently been made of Raffaello's journey to Bologna. If, on his way southward from Urbino, he took the route along the Adriatic, he must have passed through that city on his way to Florence. But it is likely that he went there later on from the latter place. There is no doubt that, through his friend Timoteo Viti, he became acquainted with Francia, and, it is equally certain that he received from Bentivoglio a commission to paint a Nativity; but whether this was ever carried out we do not know. This must all have happened prior to the autumn of 1506, for at that date the Bentivoglio were banished from Bologna. In any case, the early correspondence between Raffaello and Francia shews their strong attachment to one another, and in a letter dated from Rome, September, 1508, their personal acquaintance is proved, for Raffaello says:—"I have just received your portrait from Bazzotto, in very good condition, and I heartily thank you. It is beautifully done, and so full of life that at times I am led to believe that I am in your company and listening to you."

Be the two journeys to Siena and Bologna as they may, Raffaello's departure from Urbino to Florence cannot have taken place before October, 1504, inasmuch as Giovanna's letter of introduction bears the date of the first month in that year. And whatever evidence we may attach to this letter, we have ample proof of Raffaello's presence

presence at Florence towards the end of 1504 or the beginning of 1505. At this time he was barely 22 years of age. Here we must take our leave of him. My frail barque is already entering upon too wide a sea; and my object will be attained and my ambition satisfied if I have been able to bring forward anything fresh concerning Raffaello's early days and the masters who shaped his genius, or have been able to place them in a clearer and better light.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT the time to which we refer in these pages, Florence was the *rendezvous* for all celebrated artists, when in the zenith of their splendour. According to Vasari, Raffaello counted amongst his friends Rodolfo Ghirlandajo and Aristotile di S. Gallo, and was on especially intimate terms with a literary Florentine, Taddeo Taddei. "He studied the ancient works of Masaccio, and what he saw in the works of Leonardo and Michel Angelo caused him still more zealously to prosecute his studies; he consequently attained to an extraordinary polish of manner, and made still further progress in art. Among other artists, Raffaello formed a close intimacy with Fra Bartolommeo da S. Marco during his abode in Florence, the manner of that master pleasing him greatly, wherefore he took no small pains to imitate his colouring, teaching that good father on his part, the rules of perspective, to which the monk had not previousiy given his attention," and elsewhere, "when he taught Fra Bartolommeo the first rules of perspective, and was constantly in his company, being desirous of acquiring the monk's manner of colouring."

Whilst it is perfectly natural and intelligible that the example of these great masters should have

have stimulated Raffaello to emulate and even surpass them, the peculiar receptiveness of his nature often betrayed him into imitation. Judging from his works dated 1504, 1505, and 1506 (during which years he returned to Perugia and Urbino) it appears that he followed the style which most struck his fancy. For example, the portrait of Maddalena Doni (Pitti Gallery) recalls forcibly the portrait of Monna Lisa del Giocondo, painted at that time by Leonardo da Vinci; several figures in the Entombment (Borghese Gallery) are impressed with the style of Michel Angelo, and the unfinished Madonna del Baldacchino (Pitti Gallery) follows closely Fra Bartolommeo's handling. The fresco of the Convent of San Severo, at Perugia, representing Christ in Heaven surrounded by Saints, is especially noticeable in its resemblance to the Last Judgment painted by Fra Bartolommeo in Santa Maria Nuova, which was afterwards removed, and is now preserved in the hospital. Finally, the influence of this painter is manifest in the panel mentioned by Vasari, and which I cannot better describe than by quoting his own words :—" In the same city Raffaello was commissioned to paint a picture of Our Lady, by the nuns of Sant'Antonio of Padua; the Infant Christ is in the lap of the Virgin, and is fully clothed, as it pleased those simple and pious ladies that it should be: on each side of Our Lady are figures of Saints, viz. : San Pietro, San Paolo, Santa Cecilia, and Santa Caterina. To these two holy Virgins the master has given the most lovely features

features and most graceful attitudes ; he has also adorned them with the most fanciful and varied headdresses that could be imagined—a very unusual thing at that time. In a lunette above this picture he painted a figure of God the Father, which is extremely fine, and on the Predella are three scenes from the history of Christ, in very small figures. The first of these represents the Saviour praying in the Garden ; in the second he is seen bearing the Cross, and here the movements and attitudes of certain soldiers who are dragging him along are singularly beautiful; the third shows him lying dead in the lap of the Madonna. The whole work is without doubt very admirable : it is full of devout feeling, and is held in the utmost veneration by the nuns for whom it was painted. It is very highly commended by all painters likewise." After many vicissitudes this work of art was deposited in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, but in 1859 it was taken away, and where it is deposited is unknown. The three *predelle* are now in private collections in England.

To this period belong a series of Madonnas, which excite the delight of all true lovers of art, and form the chief ornament of the greater portion of European galleries. Were it possible to follow step by step the gradual development of this artist's genius, and to classify the Madonnas chronologically, I should attempt the task thus :—

The Madonna of the *Grand Duke* (Pitti Gallery) in a standing position, facing the spectator with downcast eyes, holding the Infant in her arms, one

one of the master's most charming works, full of religious feeling.

The Madonna of *Casa Tempi* (Munich Gallery). The Virgin is standing—in profile, and clasps the Infant affectionately to her breast.

The Madonna of the Duke of Terranova (Berlin Museum), oval. The Virgin supports the Infant on her knees. The youthful St. John and another child complete the composition.

The Ansidei Madonna (Blenheim), afterwards called a "Holy Conversation." The Virgin appears seated on a throne, teaching the Infant Jesus to read; at the sides the Saints John and Nicolas of Bari.

The Madonna of Lord Cowper (Panshanger). The Virgin appears seated, whilst the Infant, carried on her left arm, embraces his mother. The critic before quoted, (Lermolieff) regards this as the finest of Raffaello's Madonnas.

The Madonna Canigiani (Munich Gallery) comes next, but here again I cannot do better than give Vasari's own words :—" he painted a picture wherein he represented the Madonna with the Infant Christ : the Holy Child is caressing the little St. John, who is brought to him by St. Elizabeth ; and the latter, while holding the boy, looks with a most animated countenance at St. Joseph, who stands leaning with both hands on his staff; he bends his head towards her with an expression of astonishment and of praise to God, whose greatness had bestowed this young child on a mother already so far advanced in years.

All

All appear to be amazed at the manner in which the two cousins treat each other at an age so tender, the one evincing his reverence for the Saviour, the other affectionately caressing his companion. Every touch of the brush in the heads, hands, and feet of this work has produced such effect, that the parts seem rather to be of the living flesh than the mere colours of the painter, however able a master of his art." After a description so graphic, I shall confine myself to mentioning, in this series, the Madonnas painted in the years 1505 and 1506.

The Madonna del Prato (Belvedere, Vienna), and the Madonna del Cardellino, in the Uffizi, come next. I shall not include the Colonna Madonna now at Berlin, nor the Bridgewater Madonna, as they belong to a later period. Perhaps in the first mentioned examples of the Madonna, viz, that of the *Grand Duke*, and that of the *Casa Tempi*, traces might be found, after careful investigation, of the style of Timoteo Viti. The third, that of Terranova, recalls the manner of Perugino; in fact it follows his design. The greater his progress, the more perceptible is the distance between the artists—Raffaello, so to speak, assumes his individuality. As he advances in his art, his Madonnas lose their mystic appearance, and become more maternal and human. Indeed it may be generally remarked that at this point in the history of the fine arts, realism in painting becomes more apparent.

Thus far have we followed Raffaello and the strides

strides of his great genius. He has abandoned the manner of Timoteo, Perugino, and Pinturicchio; and traces of the handling of Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Michel Angelo, have disappeared. Later on, he may almost imperceptibly have been influenced by the potent sway of this irresistible master, but at this period it was not so. From each of his predecessors, he has taken into his own nature all that is worthy of imitation; and he has made the utmost use of his observation and study. Notwithstanding this, he shews himself to the world as an original master, and is, in his own peculiar way, perfect. To display his real merits he only requires a larger field; to carry off the prize from artists older than himself, an arena worthy of his genius, such as Rome, the greatest in the world, where is to be found a public composed of Popes, Princes, Cardinals, *litterati*, and the talented and appreciative of the whole world. Thither, fortune, who has ever smiled benignantly on him, will beckon Raffaello; and, under the auspices of Leo and Julius, he will accomplish those works which cause men to bow down in admiration of so superb a genius—a genius which will bestow on him immortal fame as long as a sense of beauty has power over the souls of men.

The quotations are from Mrs. Jonathan Forster's translation of Vasari—London, 1852.

IN PREPARATION.

Collectors' Marks

BY

Louis Fagan,

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